NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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WAR & PEACE

'Agonizing crisis of peace' poses Washington dilemma

A "truly agonizing crisis," wrote the Alsop brothers (4/16), had been caused by the "peace offensive now being carried on by the masters of the Kremlin." Moscow's proposals on Germany, on trade, the hint of "a new willingness to compromise in Korea," confronted Washington with "crises" as serious as "the Korean aggression," in the opinion of one top official. A resulting split in the Administration—with the minority arguing for "taking the German gamble" and urging talks with Moscow—was reflected in growing fear among a big-business minority of the consequences of Washington's policy. N.Y. advertising executive and ex-Congressman Bruce Barton (Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn) wrote in the Sunday **Pictorial Review** last month:

> . . . Peace (in Truman-Pentagon language) means shooting more Chinese in Korea, more Indonesians in Indonesia, more Indo-Chinese in Indo-China and the subsidizing of war preparations everywhere in the world. . . . Today the dilemma of the U.S. is clear and inescapable. Either (1) we go to war; or (2) we make up our minds that Russia and the U.S. are going to exist side by side for a long time, and that we must be smart enough to accept this situation. . . . At present . . . instead of figuring out how we can live successfully with Russia, our officials do nothing but bluster and threaten. . . .

TO NEW READERS

This is a special issue of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN devoted to the 1952 Presidential campaign program and activity of the Progressive Party, which the GUARDIAN supports.

Space pressure has greatly abbreviated our usual coverage of the week's news. The GUARDIAN performs the week-in, week-out function of providing progressives with a careful sober summary of the essential domestic and foreign news.

DREAMS OF GLORY: Of the doubt arising in some big-business minds, there was none in President Truman's. In a press-conference discourse on the powers of the Presidency and the importance of military strength, defending his seizure of the steel industry and arguing for his right to seize radio and press, the President likened such decisions to earlier ones he said he had taken to meet "the grave world crisis." He mentioned a personal ultimatum to Stalin which forced the Russians out of Iran, and the dispatch of three U.S. divisions to Trieste which foiled a Tito attempt to take that city. Although he "presented these two moves to the press in the most positive terms and indicated they had not been disclosed before" (N.Y. **Times**, 4/25), White House aides finally had to admit the incidents never took place. Commented Mrs. Charlotta Bass, Progressive Party Vice-Presidential candidate:

> "When the President can no longer tell the difference between fact and his fancy, it is dangerous to the peace of America and the world. Ultimatums are the language of war, not of peace, and they are not the language of the American people."

Somewhat obscured by these dreams and their aftermath was the President's open alignment for the first time of his own position with

> the view held by some national leaders who believe that when the U.S. and the North Atlantic allies attain sufficient strength they should adopt a more positive policy than mere containment of Soviet imperialism. This group feels that the free countries not merely should react defensively . . . but should take the initiative more often (N.Y. Times, 4/25).

IKE ON LOOT ISSUE: In the Eisenhower camp, laying the groundwork for "a more positive policy" on the home front, there was no greater lack of confidence. The Committee for Economic Development, a "brain trust" for big business, issued a report "reflecting the views of Gen. Eisenhower," which came out flatly for a sales tax. Eisenhower himself wrote to the Dallas **Morning News** vigorously backing the bill transferring tidelands oil to the states, thus sanctioning the looting from the Federal Treasury of some $40 billion worth of oil properties.

In the Senate, Eisenhower Repub-

(Continued on Page 3)

Photo by Bernard

Will there be a peaceful alternative for them?

Two young Americans, dreaming dreams that all kids dream. What will I be when I grow up? A policeman, a doctor, a reporter? Wonderful dreams—and maybe they'll come true, if these kids get a chance. The Progressive Party is dedicated to giving them that chance. This special issue of the GUARDIAN tells how the PP would do it—with your help.

Progressive Party convention in Chicago July 4-6

By C. B. Baldwin
Secy., Progressive Party

JULY 4, 5, 6. Mark that on your calendar.

Chicago, Illinois. Start making your reservations now.

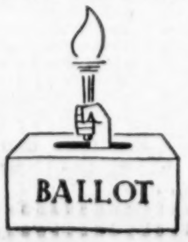
On July 4, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois—symbol to America and the world of the struggle for peace and equality—will keynote the Progressive Party's 3-day National Convention. Vito Marcantonio, chairman of New York's American Labor Party and former Congressman (1939 to 1950) with a flawless record on behalf of labor, civil rights and peace, will be permanent chairman.

July 4 week-end will see more than the nominating convention of a political party. It will be a great national demonstration for peace. Delegates are coming not only from the PP state organizations but from all sections of the people who increasingly demand peace—from labor, farm, Negro, church, youth, peace, community and cooperative groups.

A PLACE FOR THE PEOPLE: It will be a convention of the American people who are demanding an end to the Korean war, big-power talks to settle outstanding issues, lower taxes; of all who want to enjoy the blessings of peace—peacetime jobs, schools and housing and flood control, the rights of full citizenship for the Negro people and all other minorities, a living Bill of Rights for all.

The call to this national peace convention will be issued within the next two weeks. Each state is entitled to two delegates, with eight additional delegates and one alternate for each Presidential elector. Thus each state can send 11 delegates for each Presidential elector with full rights to participate in discussions and voting.

To secure full representation for all the active fighters for peace, the PP Campaign Committee decided this week that a convention delegate may be chosen by any group of ten persons—housewives, miners, farmers, members of a factory union or peace group—subscribing to the program of the peace ticket. Credentials for the "1 for 10" delegates will be issued by each state PP organization. All such delegates will become full members of the state delegations, will share in the entire state delegation's vote.



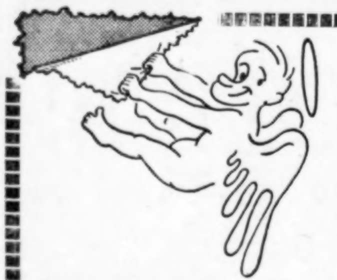
REGIONAL HEARINGS: Convention arrangements will be supervised by the PP of Illinois. The National Campaign Committee has announced the election of a Platform & Resolutions Committee headed by Earl Dickerson, noted Chicago attorney and pres. of the Natl. Lawyers Guild, who will act as co-chairman with Mrs. Katharine Van Orden of New Jersey, former pres. of the League of Women Voters and member of President Roosevelt's OPA Natl. Advisory Committee.

The P & R Committee will hold regional hearings throughout the country before the convention to enable the rank and file of the American people to participate in writing a people's platform. All who wish to submit suggested planks should send them to the PP National Office in preparation for the extensive hearings on peace, jobs, civil rights, and free speech.

The Rules Committee is headed by Marie Reed Haug, outstanding Cleveland trade union leader.

SLEEVES ROLLING UP: The Pennsylvania PP has already reserved a full train for the Chicago convention. New York and New Jersey are fast following. The 5 percenters are staying home and so are the machine bosses, the lobbyists, the military men, the profiteers. But from all over America comes the response to our party's call for a crusade for peace in the 1952 campaign.

The people are stirring—farmers and coal miners, bus drivers and school teachers, students and sharecroppers, ministers and auto workers, men and women, Negro and white, Mexican-Americans, Italian-Americans, Irish-Americans, Slavic-Americans, German-Americans, all-Americans, rolling up their sleeves to make peace the issue in '52.



How About Your Own Renewal?

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Name (Please Print) ....

Address ....

City.................................. Zone...... State...........

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☐ "FREEDOM," 6-month sub.

☐ Handsome 12"x15" woodcut of Harriet Tubman.

☐ 60 KANCO double edge razor blades. Heavy ( ) Thin ( )

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Vincent . . .

MUSKEGON, MICH.

Mr. Vincent Hallinan
McNeil Island Penitentiary
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Vincent:

We thought you would like to know that six of us, three white and three Negro, were out today in a big housing project in Michigan. The weather was fine, and the people finer.

In about three hours, we got 210 signatures to our petition to place your name and Mrs. Bass' name on the Michigan ballot. We wish you could have been here in person, but believe us, you and Mrs. Bass were both here in spirit. The people here were delighted to learn of you as a united team, ready to lead the fight for peace, brotherhood, and progress. It was the fact of your united candidacy which got the most signatures.

Mrs. V. Sterling — Jim Chilvers
Wh. Glen — Virginia Glen
Hester De Lacy — Hugh De Lacy

Harry Vaughan's pal

CINCINNATI, O.

It is alleged that President Truman said he hopes he will be loved for the enemies he has made. We can positively say he is not loved for some of the friends he has made. **R. Stanfield**

Hollywood of late

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I have saved 3 bucks for some time by not going to the stinking picture shows that Hollywood produces lately since the real playwrights are being dismissed and jailed. So am sending it to the GUARDIAN to help promote peace in this chaotic world of ours which is badly needed. **Saul Rightson**

Floods and corpses

OLATHE, COLO.

If Harry Truman had kept his nose out of Korea the people of America would not be floating around in the flooded area on their housetops. The over 100,000 American boys that were killed or wounded in Korea destroying a nation that has not harmed us in the least would be alive today. They might have been put on construction work to prevent this flood.

I am not familiar with the construction work of building dams, dikes, draining swamps and moving mountains; but I know it is far more important than bomb tests for television display.

Why not televise the flood?

B. Broyles

How ironic can a curtain get?

If you want to have a look at a giant panda in the flesh you'd better hurry to Chicago's Brookfield Zoo. Mei-Lan is the only living giant panda on exhibition in this country, and the Communists in China have cut off the supply.

—"The Panda Passes," by John Kieran, This Week, Mar. 23.

How crazy can you get dept.

DEARBORN (UP)—Mayor Orville Hubbard today mapped plans for a "Dearborn loyalty day" on May 12, complete with mass loyalty oath ceremonies, the crowning of a "Miss Loyalty" and a street dance called the "Loyalty Drag." Hubbard will administer the oath to the 1,000 city employes and to all other citizens who wish to take part. . . . The city council passed an ordinance this week requiring such an oath from city employes.

—Royal Oak (Mich.) Daily Tribune, April 17.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Ruth Brede, Royal Oak.

Up the 50th!

CHICAGO, ILL.

The enclosed $30.25 was contributed by GUARDIAN readers of 50th Ward Progressive Party in Chicago. **B. Soles**

Just one election

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Socialism and progressivism need leadership badly. No one seems to be able to arouse the people to the rotten conditions that exist today in government and are getting worse every day. If all the progressive forces would only join forces for just one election, get out a full slate of candidates from dog catcher to President in every town, county and state, we could win a lot of offices. **C. J. Hitchcock**

A Southern fable

LEXINGTON, KY.

The reactionary columnists and commentators are working assiduously to make the country believe that Truman has lost the South—and thus dare not run again—because of his demagogic espousal of civil rights. It simply is not so. The Wall Street spokesmen in the South attack Truman to boost their power in the Democratic Party; and it is Wall Street and not the South that is opposed to full civil rights for all—including Negroes. Does one see spokesmen for Wall Street advocating full civil rights in the North?

The common people of the South, regardless of political label, are against Truman because they fear he is leading them to war and bankruptcy, and because they are against him taxing them to subsidize global expansion. They are horrified at the crime of Korea; and they are scandalized by the revelations of graft and corruption in Washington. The old legend of a solid reactionary South is a myth.

This myth has also been nourished by carpet-bagging labor organizers to cover up their failures. One notes that the coal miners of the South are organized, and no less militant than their Northern comrades. The reason the United Mine Workers organizers did not find Southern miners reactionary, was because they were under no delusions spread by reactionaries to hamper them in their work. They were mostly native Southerners themselves and thus resented such slanders. **Jack Carter**

Cuckoo Song

Ike is icumen home—
Loudly sing cuckoo!
Seeketh vote and sayeth naught,
But grinneth he anew . . . sing cuckoo!
Lodge plumpeth hard for Dwight,
Tafte stumpeth hard in spite.
Estes runneth; Adlai shunneth—
Merry sing cuckoo,
Ne'er cease thy ballyhoo.

Manon Horace
Los Angeles, Calif.

Our kind of people

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

The GUARDIAN means a lot to me. I'm having a tough struggle but it would be far tougher if I didn't know of the people whom I've come to know through your paper. **Lorna E. Bird**

Daily Express, London

"Let's ring up the Foreign Office and tell 'em that it's been decided, purely for reasons of administrative convenience, to appoint an American."

Peace by precinct

SULLIVAN, MO.

Solidarity is a word that GUARDIAN readers should ponder over. Amity of all anti-war forces should be talked about, written about so much more than is being done at present. United we can get something done; divided we are in a hell of a mess. So let's start uniting our peace forces in every precinct, every ward in every county in the rural areas. Let's get more GUARDIAN readers. **L. K. England**

See what happens!

CLOQUET, MINN.

I am sending $2 for my renewal. It isn't exactly renewal because my subscription ran out recently and I've missed this paper terrifically.

Mrs. Alfred J. Mitchell

Just leave 'em alone

WICHITA, KANS.

I am a mad hatter. I don't like the Missouri mule and I also am not a Republican. I have been one of America's independent voters ever since I reached 21. I am now 63 and still going strong and, up to now, I still am not a Communist. I don't think I know enough to be one, for to me, they are very smart folks and I think we should leave them entirely alone to follow their own system. We sure as hell have plenty to do to look after our own. **Charles F. Frohne**

The normalcy float

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Economist A. S. McLeod tells U. S. News & World Report (March 7) why the coming depression cannot possibly be as disastrous as that of the '30s.

". . . Population is growing at a rate of about 2 million a year. New family units are being formed at the rate of nearly 1 million a year. That means a relatively high demand for new dwellings and for all of the appliances and other things that go into them. It means a rather high demand for cars. . . ." Col. 1, p. 20.

". . . . Under normal conditions it is probable that there will be a 'float' of around 4 to 5 million unemployed, instead of the fewer than 2 million now. . . ."—Col. 2, p. 20.

Shades of Warren Gamaliel Harding and the return to "normalcy!"

Ralph Izard

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

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Vol. 4, No. 28 — 178 — MAY 1, 1952

REPORT TO READERS — NEW AND OLD

Where we stand

YOU may be seeing NATIONAL GUARDIAN for the first time with this issue. If so, we want you to know where we stand on the affairs of our time—in the hope that you will agree with us and join our readership. We can best declare ourselves for new readers as well as many who have joined us since our first issue appeared Oct. 18, 1948, by reaffirming our introductory statement of nearly four years ago:

WE present our publication humbly, in the conviction that the times call for a voice in our nation which without fear or reservation will bespeak the cause of peace, freedom and abundance. We ask the indulgence and support of all who share that conviction.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN's purpose is a continuation and development of the progressive tradition set in our time by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and overwhelmingly supported by the American people in four Presidential elections.

- WE BELIEVE as FDR did in expanding freedoms and living standards for all peoples as the essential foundation of a world securely at peace.
- WE BELIEVE as FDR did that peace can be secured only by seeking areas of agreement among nations, rather than seeking areas of disagreement.

SINCE FDR's death we have seen a succession of manufactured crises and negations of people's rights and freedoms. These convince us that his political successors and his Republican opposition—now joined in bipartisan policies which are not in dispute among them—intend neither to seek agreement in world affairs, nor to permit freedom for any people except in terms dictated by American big business.

- WITH FDR, WE BELIEVE that

. . . the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of a private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state. That, in its essence, is fascism.

- WE BELIEVE that the world's greatest productive machine has been created in America by the people of America, out of their own resources; that monopoly's increasing grip on that machine threatens the security of farmer, small businessman and wage-earner alike; and that all these must combine to carry forward the greatest American political tradition — the battle against concentration of private power.
- WE BELIEVE that our country's resources should be used to create an abundant life for the people who develop them, with freedom and opportunity for all. We believe that the interests of property should never and nowhere be respected above the interests of people.

IT IS OUR PLEDGE to further these ideals by giving the inheritors of Frank D. Roosevelt's America an uninterrupted flow of facts to fight with in the continuing battle for a better world.

THE EDITORS

Malan's iron curtain

CAPETOWN, SO. AFRICA

The Malan Government has just issued a new list of banned publications: this list is notable for the number of books, papers, periodicals, etc., dealing with New China. Our government is concerned lest the minds of the African people become contaminated with knowledge about New China. Malan's tenure of office depends upon the millions of Africans being kept in the dark about events and trends in the outside world. **H. Chimowitz**

Repeated mistake?

RENSSELAERVILLE, N. Y.

Your own coverage of farm problems has been encouraging, but I am disturbed by some recent letters from farmers which complain that Progressive Party and ALP platforms have neglected them. The Wallace program of four years ago paid amazingly little attention to farmers. Why repeat this mistake?

L. A. Eldridge Jr.

Give 'em hell!

COLFAX, IOWA

I'm very proud of your paper as it sure gives the damnable warmongers and other thieves in our supposed-to-be-government something to think about.

Sorry I'm not a monied man so I could send you more, like these parasites do in supporting their daily press and broadcasters who would do most anything to keep the American people filled up with lies and to bring fascism even into our churches, which are used by the parasites to hide their sins.

Keep up your good work and give them hell as that's what I'm doing. **L. H. Johnson**

America

NEW YORK, N. Y.

My country 'tis of thee,
Land without liberty,
We may not sing.
Land where our Fathers died
Land of the Pilgrims' pride
To every mountain-side
Let freemen cling.

Maurice Becker

Sorely needed

PETALUMA, CALIF.

For God's sake reprint those acceptance speeches of Mr. Hallinan and Mrs. Bass! We need them in the hands of thousands of people. Add the photograph of the Hallinan family and Mrs. Bass' beautiful face. **Mrs. J. H. Smith**

Washington faces a crisis of peace

(Continued from Page 1)

licans joined with others to deny the government use of certain funds for seizure of the steel industry. (Big business is using government seizure of steel, although it has interfered neither with business profits nor business-operation, as rallying point for its mounting offensive against labor. The steel workers are still waiting for their promised wage increase.)

A-BOMB "HUMANITY": Washington's purposes were underlined by a TV show thus heralded in one commercial: "TV fans, long used to murder, mayhem and massacres with their evening meals, are in for a new thrill today." What they saw was "a demonstration of the atom bomb as a humane weapon" (Hugh Baillie, **UP** pres.) Baillie wrote:

> The atom bomb's debut as a mercy stroke in combat was based on the theory that it will kill enemy troops quickly and in wholesale quantities and enable the capture of positions with a minimum of loss and at maximum speed and thus shorten wars. . . . One bomb does it all. . . .

(The new humanity was about to be demonstrated also in Australia where Britain was scheduled to test its first A-bomb near the Central Aboriginal Reserve. Prominent Australians warned it would be impossible to clear all aborigines from the area; many would be doomed to starvation by widespread destruction of foods and animals.)

SPRING SONG, 1952

YUCCA FLAT, Nevada, April 22—It was an ideal day for an atomic test, with blue cloudless skies, a slight breeze blowing from the south—N. Y. Times.

How naive.
Circling the city park.
I too had noted the ideal weather;
Only, as an untrained observer
Remarking merely
The easy chuckle of leaves
And my little boy's hand and the light green breeze
Dancing together.

—Eve Merriam

MORGANS & FLOWERS: Correspondents waxed lyrical over the big bang over Nevada's Yucca Flat. The **N. Y. Times'** William L. Laurence called it a "flower-like pattern," "a sculptor's dream," "a gigantic hemisphere of white marble." Atomic Energy Commissioner Gordon Dean, who last October urged "serious consideration to use of the atomic weapon," revealed that "we are undertaking a very large expansion of the national atomic energy program."

Among some half-dozen more representatives of the Morgans and duPonts (controlling atomic energy) who joined the Eisenhower camp last week were Philip Reed, board chairman of Morgan's General Electric which controls plutonium production, and duPont's Donald Carpenter, who directed the atomic industry when he served as chairman of the Pentagon's Military Liaison Committee on Atomic Energy.

KOREA—DIMMING HOPE: In Korea, where truce talks again seemed on the verge of breakdown, **Ce Soir** correspondent Wilfred Burchett charged that Washington's "artificially-inspired optimism" was not only groundless but calculated to "pretend there was no reason for public opinion and their allies to get alarmed over American

The American Weekly
"Whoever it is, he sure uses big words!"

GENERAL EISENHOWER
How's it look in Massachusetts?

conduct of the talks." He said that at a "delicate stage" of negotiations, the U.S. was guilty of "grossest provocation" by again collecting petitions from Chinese and North Korean prisoners not to be returned home.

At the week-end Washington announced that only 70,000 out of 170,000 prisoners it held wanted to be returned. (Its stand on the POW issue, directly violating the Geneva Convention, has been opposed by all its allies in Korea. Chinese and Korean charges of "forcible" indoctrination of POW's have been borne out by some reports through censorship by Australian and U.S. reporters, and the frequent outbreaks and massacres in Allied camps.) Commenting on Secy. Acheson's talk to the Am. Soc. of Newspaper Editors, the Alsops wrote (4/23):

> Acheson's summary dismissal of the Soviet peace offensive probably means the end for the time being of the recently raised hopes of a settlement in Korea.

SQUEEZE ON BONN: Acheson's "summary dismissal" did not halt the chain of developments started by Soviet diplomacy. In Bonn, Chancellor Adenauer was forced by overwhelming popular demand for German unity to say he favored talks with Moscow on Germany—a clear sign of the strength of his opposition, even though coupled with insistence that Germany be part of the Western alliance.

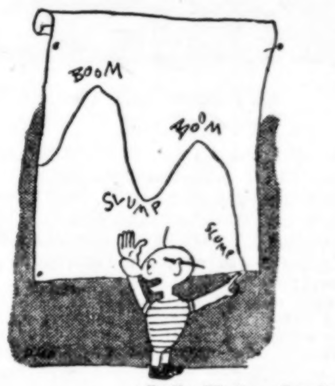
Adenauer had already lost control of the Upper House of Parliament when the Free Democrats deserted his coalition. In the newly-formed and as yet unnamed Southwest State, the Free Democrats have made a coalition with the Social Democrats who strongly oppose rearmament. With a "serious split" developing between Adenauer and the Free Democrats, Germany's integration with the West was threatened since it

> . . . rests squarely on the conviction that Dr. Adenauer . . . will be able to win ratification in Parliament for a contractual agreement and a European defense treaty that embody integration (N.Y. Times, 4/27).

"PEACE WILL WIN"

NEW YORK CITY
Sun., May 4, 8:30 p.m.—4 Sundays Club, 10 E. 16th St., Apt. 1.
BROOKLYN
Sat., May 3, eve.—Midwood ALP, Home of Minnie Weiner, 2395 Bedford Av.
BUFFALO
Sun., May 4, 3:00 p.m.—420 Broadway.
BALTIMORE
Sat., May 3, 8:30 p.m. and 10:30 p.m.—Fellowship House, 27 W. Preston St.

The swamps in which Washington was getting bogged were also apparent at UN, where the clash between the colonial and anti-colonial powers was moving into the foreground. In a letter to Asian, African and Latin American countries and some Atlantic powers, India's delegation warned that UN may disintegrate if the smaller powers continue to be ignored. The warning was aimed at the U.S. and its Western allies who were responsible for the Security Council's refusal to hear Tunisia's case against France.



Daily Worker, London
"Please teacher, can I have another sheet of paper?"

FREEDOMS

Heiled probers press Constitution-axing

LAST week in Frankfurt, Germany, a former Nazi soldier called as a witness against the U.S.S.R. before a U.S. Congressional investigating committee made his own unconscious comment on current U.S. searches for witches: he took the witness oath by giving a Nazi salute.

With or without the salute, the searches and seizures went on around the country. On Thursday, in New York City, in a courtroom procedure so swift spectators scarcely knew what had happened, five attorneys of top professional rating were marched off in handcuffs to serve prison terms. Their crime: contempt of court (by "excessive zeal") during their defense of 11 top Communist Party leaders in the 1949 Smith Act trial. Two must serve six months, two four months, one 30 days. Two have been disbarred.

The same day another Smith Act trial of 16 CP leaders began in New York before a jury defense attorneys charged was "stacked in favor of the government." Two accepted jurors admitted believing the defendants advocate violent overthrow of the government (they are charged with conspiracy to advocate use of force). Picking the jury took seven days; of 119 questioned, the defense challenged 22, the prosecution two, including the lone Negro on the panel (a Negro was later chosen as one of four alternate jurors). Of 79 excused by the court, 59 admitted prejudice against the defendants. As the jury was sworn in, defense attorney Mary Kaufman said:

> "We are now getting that convicting jury that we feared at the outset."

THE FIRST YEAR: In Washington the government finally ended one-year-long presentation of its case before the McCarran Act Subversive Activities Control Board to force the CP to register as a "foreign agent" and list members. Last of its 22 witnesses was ex-Communist Louis F. Budenz who said he received over $71,000 in fees and royalties in seven years as a professional anti-Communist. A charge of perjury against him by defense attorney John Abt was thrown out by the hearing panel. Attorney Vito Marcantonio produced this letter written in 1944 by then Sen. Harry S. Tuman when he was seeking the Vice-Presidential nomination; it was addressed to the **Daily Worker:**

> Appreciate very much your letter of July 27, enclosing me [sic] a copy of an article by Mr. Adam Lapin. I think he has made an excellent analysis of the situation and I appreciate it most highly. . . . You have my permission to print my comment.

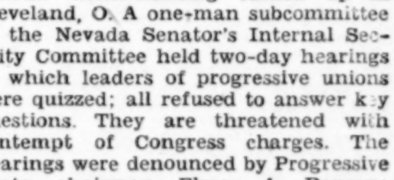
The letter, Marcantonio said, shows

> ". . . this red hunt—this persecution—is the last refuge of political scoundrels and political hypocrites in this area."

The letter was not permitted in evidence; Marcantonio's comments on it were stricken from the record. Presentation of defense evidence was to start June 4.

HUNTING LABOR MILITANTS: McCarran witch-hunting turned up in Cleveland, O. A one-man subcommittee of the Nevada Senator's Internal Security Committee held two-day hearings at which leaders of progressive unions were quizzed; all refused to answer key questions. They are threatened with contempt of Congress charges. The hearings were denounced by Progressive Party chairman Elmer A. Benson; among those questioned was Mrs. Marie Haug, Cleveland PP leader.

SOCIALIST WORKERS BARRED: In Michigan Gov. G. Mennen Williams, Fair Deal Democrat, signed into law the Trucks Bill to bar the CP from the



ballot, force it and all other organizations on the Attorney General's "subversive list" to register members under pain of a $10,000 fine and ten years in prison. First victim was the CP's sworn enemy, the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, which was ruled off the ballot. CP leaders won a temporary injunction against enforcement of the law; a hearing on its constitutionality before three federal judges was set for May 20. In the Michigan Senate was a proposed constitutional amendment providing death sentences for persons

(Continued on Page 4)

Paul Robeson lends a hand

By Paul Robeson

AT NO TIME in our history have the people of the U.S. been faced with such an attack on their liberties as today. This attack springs directly from the big business interests who control both old parties and have subverted the machinery of the government to accomplish the selfish aims of the wealthy few.

On every hand we witness bipartisan thievery and corruption, violation of the Bill of Rights, the increased oppression of the Negro people, the frantic preparations for a war which nobody in the world wants but the united munition makers, the Pentagon brass and a handful of lackeys whom they buy off with the people's money.

A motley crew of old-time politicians bid for the public favor on the basis of who can outdo the other in executing this suicidal program. Not one of them opposed the Smith Act, the McCarran Board, the concentration camps now being built, the murders of Harry Moore and numberless other victims of Ku Klux Klan bestiality. Each of them champions—not one of them opposes—the drive toward atomic war with the peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia.

THE one hope for peace-loving, democratic-minded voters is offered by the Progressive Party. In Mr. Hallinan and Mrs. Bass the men and women of labor, the Negro people, and all the fighters for peace, have two champions who put principle before profit, welfare before war. A vote for them will be a vote for a future of peace and friendship among the people of the world. The candidacy of Mrs. Bass, first Negro woman to run for the Vice-Presidency, is a welcome warrant of the Progressive Party's recognition of the crucial part which the Negro people of the U.S. play in the world-wide struggle for peace.

I shall count it a privilege, as the days go by, to call upon my people and all the peace-loving Americans to work and vote for Vincent Hallinan for President and Mrs. Charlotta Bass for Vice-President.

(Continued from Page 3)

with "subversive intentions."

TENANT TEST: Witch-hunting has brought an abrupt halt to a planned government sale of $167,093,000 worth of bonds to finance 73 public housing projects in 24 states. A rider attached to House-approved public housing legislation barred federal funds to any housing unit sheltering a member of any organization on the Attorney General's list; to administer the provision the FBI would have to screen some 800,000 tenants across the country. Commented the Washington **Post:**

> Why not extend the loyalty test to cover all applicants for books in the public library or to all those who benefit from publicly supported trash collections? It is difficult to think of a more absurd amendment. . . .

BISHOPS BALK: After "rejecting communist materialism" at their quadrennial conference in San Francisco, the 70 bishops of the Methodist Church unanimously deplored the "rash" of loyalty oaths and "creeping miasma of intimidation"; criticized clergy and laymen who seek to silence such progressive groups as the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action; declared that "this whole question of freedom is assuming alarming proportions in American life."

Photo by Esther Handler

IN BROOKLYN THEY CAME OUT TO HEAR TALK OF PEACE

The Kings County American Labor Party dinner, Apr. 18—1,300 present

THE WORLD

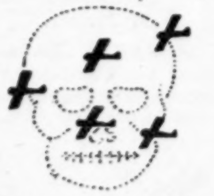
GERM WARFARE

Captive GI's tell of mystery inoculation

DAMNING EVIDENCE that the U.S. is using bacteriological weapons in Korea and China continued to pile up last week. In Shanghai the English-language **Shanghai News** in a dispatch from Pyongyang said that more than 900 specimens of infectious insects and other objects, together with shells of germ bombs, have been collected since March 20 by the Chinese Commission for Investigating the U.S. Crime of Germ Warfare. The commission questioned Korean health workers, experts and eye-witnesses, captured U.S. and S. Korean agents who gave depositions.

One GI (Cpl. Reinaldo Bonilla, 30449984, 9th Co., 3d Bn., 65th Reg., 5th Inf. Div.), taken in mid-January south of Sangnyong, stated (World Peace Council Bulletin, Prague, April 16):

> . . . that on Dec. 1, 1951, all members of his unit were given a new inoculation. . . . No entry was made on their inoculation certificate, as was the custom. Since December preventive measures were taken in his company against epidemics. In January a light green medical gauze was given to the soldiers to cover their heads. They had to wash their hands and face with a yellow liquid each morning. Their position was sprayed with DDT every few days.



WHAT'S IT FOR? Gunner G. G. White, (22441410, 2d Co., Leicestershire Reg., 29th British Brigade) taken March 1 north of Korong-Pori, said this secret inoculation was given British forces in December. He said:

> "Two soldiers refused to have this inoculation because they did not understand why it was being made. But the officers forced them to have it done."

In Peking, **People's China** said:

> Statements of many soldiers captured recently prove that before the Americans began bacteriological warfare they inoculated their forces against plague, cholera, smallpox, encephalitis epidemica, and other diseases. Everyone knows plague has never occurred in Korea; there has been no cholera in Korea since 1947; yellow fever is a disease occurring on the American continent and other tropical regions.
>
> American forces were withdrawn in advance from the areas in which they were preparing to disseminate germs. On Feb. 11 American planes dropped germs carrying vermin 45 kilometers east-northeast of Kaesong. But American forces in that area were withdrawn during the night of Feb. 10.

IT IS NOT SUCCEEDING: At Kaesong six correspondents assigned to the North Korean forces covering the truce negotiations (Wilfred Burchett of the Paris **Ce Soir** was among them) issued a joint statement saying the "evidence is conclusive" that the Americans were using germ warfare. The statement said in part:

> This weapon can be and is being met and defeated by close cooperation between the government and the people, by mass social consciousness, discipline and courage. It is being defeated here. There are no epidemics.
>
> The Americans bank on the victims being forced to destroy the evidence in self-defense. However, they cannot succeed in this evasion because there are tens of thousands of eye-witnesses. There are laboratory samples of non-indigenous insects and bacteria unknown in Korea. There is a mass of evidence—complete, damning and final. We correspondents, who are used to dealing with facts, must believe the evidence of our own eyes and ears, rather than the words of Acheson and Ridgway.

Bolivia (12,500 ft.) bids for democracy

TIN is a major strategic material; spreading mental fog about the conditions, aspirations and activities of the ruthlessly exploited peoples who produce it—mainly in Malaya and Bolivia—is a specialty of the U.S. press. Of Bolivia the New York **Times** argued editorially last June, after the electorate chose as President 43-year-old ex-professor Victor Paz Estenssoro (leader of the mass party Movimiento Nacioalista Revolucionario) and a military putsch prevented his taking office:

> It is a backward and violent country, largely Indian in population. Its fantastic capital of La Paz, 12,500 feet high, is not a place where normal, placid, democratic procedures can be worked out.

A three-day armed revolt last month in which 1,000 were reported killed overthrew Bolivia's military dictatorship; Paz returned from exile in Buenos Aires to assume the office for which the voters chose him. The **Times** editorialized:

> . . . There is [in Bolivia] an emotionalism about politics completely lacking in temperate climes and normal altitudes.

JUSTIFIED EMOTION: If Bolivians are emotional, other peoples have been more so with less cause and less altitude. Its tin miners work "in a G-string and rubber boots" at a temperature of "120 to 125 degrees" without the most elementary health safeguards, for "wages that reach a peak, for the men, at 135 bolivianos (67½c) a day" (**N.Y. Times**, 6/3/51). The miners are 60% tubercular, 50% syphilitic; half their babies die in the first year, life expectancy for the survivors is 35. They "never get enough to eat from infancy to death" (**Wall St. Journal**, 6/11/51). Only the 15% of Bolivians who are literate can vote. Patino, chief of the three tin mining concerns ruled by absentee millionaires, had a profit rate of 42.7% in 1950.

Tin from land-locked Bolivia has been piling up in Chilean and Peruvian ports ever since its chief purchaser, Washington's Reconstruction Finance Corp., refused at the end of 1950 to pay more than $1.21½ a lb. (the companies held out for $1.30).

WILL MNR NATIONALIZE? The press of Peron's Argentina praised the new regime; the Catholic Church held an open mass supporting it; fascist Spain promptly recognized it, but so also did Latin America's most democratic government, Guatemala. The apparent contradiction reflected the struggle for dominance between the revolutionary mass base of the MNR and nationalist-fascist tendencies among leaders. The mass slogan on which the military dictators were overthrown was nationalization of mines, but Paz already weakened on the issue the day he was installed. Juan Lechin, new Minister of Mines—an important figure in the revolt, of inconsistent political background but recently close to the Peron line—carried forward the nationalization demand under pressure from the miners whose union he has led.

While the **Times** called the MNR "fascistic," Washington held aloof, clearly waiting on any nationalization moves that might be made. Whether the workers could successfully press for such moves, in view of the outside pressures, none could say; but meanwhile the country was patrolled by an armed workers' militia, and something new had been born out of the revolt in the forging of big unions for the first time in one organization.

Washington held the economic aces; Peron, already with a strong foothold in Paraguay, might capitalize on the situation; but the revolt was further evidence of the maturing of the workers all over Latin America.

OLD PLATITUDES AND NEW PERSPECTIVES

What every worker should know

By Hugh Bryson
President of the Marine Cooks and Stewards union

AS Republican and Democratic leaders, whipsawed by the press to do the dirty work of the NAM, howl about the phony issue of "socialism" to block a long-delayed wage increase for steel workers—a lot of people in labor are learning that Democrats and Republicans aren't for them.

Idle white and Negro workers, pounding the streets of Detroit in the heart of the supposedly booming war production—paid for by their taxes—are learning. So are the men and women screened out of jobs on the waterfront on the false issue of "security"; the men and women beached in Frisco and Pedro and workers in the textile mills in New England—while across the Pacific a whole continent is clamoring for American goods that Acheson and Dulles, Truman and Eisenhower, MacArthur and Ridgway would blockade.

NOT A PEEP: Labor is learning that peace is central. Without peace—no jobs, higher taxes and higher prices, insecurity, and a depression ahead. You don't hear a peep about these real issues from the candidates who conduct their beauty parade before the machine bosses in the two old parties.

The fight behind the scenes on steel

wages proves that 1952 is a crucial year for labor. The big boys have gotten together while the people are divided. They are preparing for a showdown fight with labor. Not just a wage freeze, but a wage cut.

It's going to be harder than ever this year to use the false issue of the lesser evil to hoodwink the people. Two weeks ago, NAACP officers in the South stated that none of the Presidential candidates—in the Democratic and Republican parties, that is—has shown any genuine concern for civil rights. If you could ever get a similar meeting of labor leaders to let their hair down, they would be forced to admit even worse—that nobody in the old parties promises anything but a tough time ahead for labor.

SOME CREW: Look at the lot — Kefauver, the junior crime buster who wants a bigger war and votes against civil rights legislation; Russell, the darling of the Southerners, who has voted the straight NAM ticket since 1933; Kerr, the big oil and gas Senator from Oklahoma. Even the heir apparent, Stevenson, knows better than to run with the load Truman left.

And now some of the so-called "liberals" are talking up Averell Harriman, Wall Street's barefoot boy, whose weekly magazine, **Newsweek,** thinks a wages increase is a revolution. What a choice for the American people in the two old parties—the military dictator of Europe, or the economic and political dictator.

Labor too is learning that it must return to its traditional political independence. It must fight to elect pro-labor Congressmen. Imagine a Congress which has in it only five members who even admit they once had a remote connection with organized labor, with only 2 Negroes and only eight women.

In '52 the Progressive Party is holding the fort for peace, standing up to the wage freezers and the racists, to the McCarthys and the McCarrans, exposing the Harrimans and the Humphreys. It's the hope for the future, the one sure road to build that big labor party we all want.

VITO MARCANTONIO ANALYZES THE OLD PARTIES

Only the Progressive Party can provide real opposition to reaction and the drive to war

By Vito Marcantonio
Chairman, Progressive Party Campaign Comm.

IN no Presidential election have such decisive issues faced the people as in 1952. The issue of world peace transcends all that Americans have had to resolve up till now. Whether the world will be thrown into a war of total destruction will depend upon whether the Eisenhower juggernaut of war and reaction will have effective, meaningful opposition. Only the Progressive Party can provide it.

It is now obvious that the Democratic Party will be no opposition to reaction in 1952. It stands in complete default in relation to labor, the farmer and the Negro people, as on the issue of world peace. It is a leaderless party which has sold itself to the real masters of the Republican Party and the monopolists of world finance. The 1952 campaign will mark the beginning of the disintegration of the Democratic Party as we know it.

Two Democratic congresses have met since 1948. In one, FEPC was betrayed; Taft-Hartley repeal was turned into a tragic gesture. In the second, there has not been even a whisper of T-H repeal; once again the party's "liberal" wing—represented by its demagogic spokesmen, the Humphreys and their ilk—are staging the farce of bringing up FEPC through hearings so late in this session of Congress as to guarantee its defeat.

TRUMAN'S MESS: The Democrats' standard-bearer in 1948 has presided over the abandonment of the New Deal. His Fair Deal has been exposed as the "phony deal." No man has ever quit the White House more discredited than Harry Truman. No man has done more damage to our institutions. His shabby appointments have resulted in subvert-

ATTY. GEN. JAMES P. McGRANERY
One of Harry's shabbiest

ing the judiciary to the detriment of the Constitutional rights of Americans. Under his administration every segment of our government has been saturated with political crime, graft and corruption. He has plunged the nation into war without even consulting the people's representatives. He has disdainfully destroyed the Bill of Rights.

We have had the Jefferson Era, the Jackson Era, the Roosevelt Era, named after occupants of the White House. The Truman Era will go down in history as the era of the stoolpigeon, the grafter and the mediocre. The Democratic Party's history since April 13, 1945, when President Roosevelt died, has been that of a party marching along the road to extinction. For a long period it had been on the people's side. Once such a party gives up its role of opposition to the party and forces of reaction, it disintegrates and falls apart.

1952 AND 1852: Only 100 years ago America saw the death of another political party. In 1852 the Whig Party participated in its last campaign and was severely defeated. It had won the election of 1848; it never ran a Presidential candidate thereafter. Then too a party died because it ceased to be the party of opposition to reaction. Men and women in and out of the party demanded opposition to the extension of slavery; that was the issue then. The Whig Party failed to provide that opposition, fell apart and ceased to exist.

The issues now are world peace, equality of all people, and the economic well-being of Americans. On these issues the Democratic Party has ceased to be the party of opposition to the war-makers, the white supremacists and those whom Roosevelt called the economic royalists.

In 1848, with the Whig default, the American people began to give independent political expression to their opposition to the extension of slavery. The Liberty Party, the party of the Abolitionists, came into being, small but active. Opponents of the extension of slavery established the Free Soil Party with the slogan "Free soil, free speech,

Louisville Courier Journal
"YESSUH!"

free labor and free men." Meeting in Buffalo, N.Y., they launched their party and fought well. In 1854 there finally came into being a real and all-encompassing party of those who either wanted slavery abolished or opposed its extension—the Republican Party of 1854 (not of 1952).

TODAY'S FREE SOILERS: While the Whigs were dying the Free Soil Party carried on; and the Republican Party was born—and was able to wage the fight, and resolve the slavery issue on the side of freedom, simply because there had been men who did give political expression to freedom with the formation of the Liberty and Free Soil parties. These carried on until it was possible to forge a major political party ensuing from the disintegration of one of the major parties, the Whigs.

We of the Progressive Party carry on as the Free Soilers of 100 years ago did. As they fought on the fundamental issue of slavery, we fight on the fundamental issue. In fighting it out on the fundamental issue of world peace we fight for those things that are integrated in world peace. For fruition of what was begun by them, the complete emancipation, social and economic equality of the Negro people.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY: We fear the epithets, distortions and lies no more than the Free Soilers did. We proclaim that in this world all people must live in peace; that armaments are not a solution and mean insufferable taxation, bankruptcy and complete breakdown of living standards everywhere in the world. We say again that we can live in peace with those with whom we could fight together as allies to win the most difficult of all wars; that to survive we must live at peace with the 250 million people of the Soviet Union, the 475 million of China, the 300 million of India; and that we must once for all extirpate colonialism in any shape or form—be it the last remnants of 18th-century Churchill-brand colonialism or the 20th century Truman Point Four version now being sold to the American people by pseudo-liberals and charlatans, including the candidate in whose honor the Democrats gave a dinner last month: the man who knew the least, and lied the most, about the Russians in World War II—banker W. Averell Harriman, who will not be the next President of the U.S.

On the basis of this program, in light of political conditions under which a Democratic Party has ceased to be the party of opposition, we of the American Labor Party and the Progressive Party accept the responsibility of opposition to war and reaction that has been placed upon us by the events of the last four years.

How the fight to get the PP on the ballot is going

Biggest immediate job of the Progressive Party is to put its peace candidates on the ballot in as many states as possible. Hard work—mostly legwork—is needed. This is the Party's statement of the job to be done:

A MAJOR achievement of the Progressive Party's 1948 campaign was the victory over complicated state election-law procedures, designed in many places to bar new parties and independent candidates from the ballot. We made the requirements in all 48 states but were arbitrarily ruled off in Illinois, Nebraska and Oklahoma.

Since then some state legislatures have tightened election laws to set far tougher requirements. OHIO, for example, now demands 500,000 signatures to be filed by Feb. 6—a task we couldn't meet; the PP there is campaigning against the unreasonable demands, calling on Gov. Lausche for a special session of the legislature to restore free elections. Similar campaigns must be conducted in OKLAHOMA, WEST VIRGINIA, FLORIDA and GEORGIA to change the election laws to give voters a choice of candidates other than those offered by the war parties.

We are determined to put our peace candidates on the ballots of as many states as possible; confident we will again prove that a determined people can overcome all legal obstacles and organize a party of their own.

THE TOUGHEST ONES: By last week we were on the ballot in seven states: in NEW YORK, CALIFORNIA, MONTANA, CONNECTICUT and MISSOURI as a result of legal status won in previous elections; in NEW JERSEY and PENNSYLVANIA as a result of filing required petitions in March. MICHIGAN is now completing its drive for 10,000 valid signatures and will file on May 6.

Hardest fights are faced in MASSACHUSETTS and ILLINOIS. The former requires 57,306 valid signatures to be filed by July 22; the PP there (state headquarters at 7 Broad St., Boston, Walter O'Brien, director) is now in a drive to secure a minimum of 75,000 signatures. In ILLINOIS (state headquarters at 166 W. Washington, Chicago) 25,000 signatures must be filed by Aug. 18. Gimmick there is that of the total, there must be at least 200 each from 50 counties; these must be collected by residents of each county.

TOUGH & TOUGHER: For the other states, each has its own peculiarities. The PP's campaign committee has divided them into these categories:

- **States in which the requirements MUST be met. These, in addition to Michigan, Massachusetts and Illinois, are:**
  INDIANA—8,000 signatures by Sept. 1;
  WISCONSIN—5,000 signatures by July 8;
  NORTH DAKOTA—300 signatures by Sept 25;
  IOWA—1,000 signatures by Sept. 25;
  MINNESOTA—2,000 signatures in Sept.;
  ALABAMA—A convention to be held on May 6;
  TEXAS—A convention on Aug. 26;
  KENTUCKY—1,000 signatures by Sept. 9;
  LOUISIANA—1,000 signatures on Sept. 2;
  VIRGINIA—1,000 signatures on Oct. 5;
  IDAHO—A convention on Aug. 22;
  UTAH and COLORADO—300 signatures each;
  NEW MEXICO, OREGON and WASHINGTON—Conventions.
- **States where the requirements are difficult, but can be met with help: These include KANSAS, 2,500 signatures by June 20; S. DAKOTA, 2,086 signatures by Aug. 6; ARIZONA, 1,983 signatures by Aug. 10.**
- **States where the requirements are extremely difficult: NORTH CAROLINA, NEVADA, NEBRASKA. (Campaign committee consulting PP state leaders to determine possibilities of meeting requirements.)**

LOOKING AT YOU: The PP national organization is gearing itself to achieve this tremendous goal. A staff of regional directors will be headed by Morton Bloom, natl. director of organization (150 W. 46th St., New York City). Midwest director is Hugh DeLacey (9014½ Kenmore Ave., Cleveland, O.). There will also be directors for Southern states, Rocky Mountain states and Farm Belt states.

But the main responsibility rests with the peace forces in every state who are organizing to guarantee that peace will be on the ballot.

SONGS
for peace, for civil rights, for brotherhood; songs for meetings, parties, choruses; folk songs, topical songs, songs from other countries. You can get them all plus exciting articles about people's music in SING OUT!, a monthly publication of People's Artists, Inc. Among our contributors: Earl Robinson, Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, Laura Duncan, Ernie Lieberman Sub: $2 per yr. Write to: People's Artists, 799 B'way, N. Y. C. 3.

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MUST PROSPERITY BE BASED ON KILLING?

Peaceful alternative: Progressive Party program for America

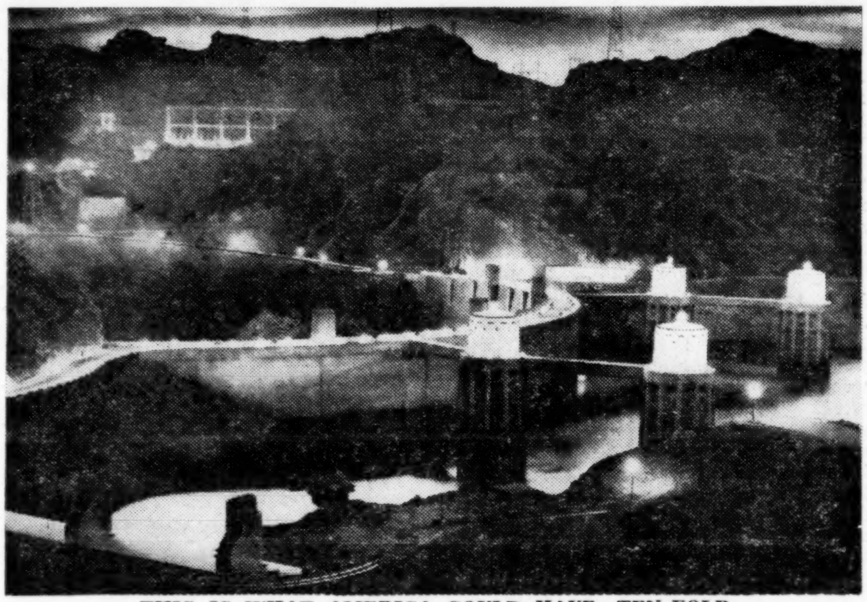
By Victor Perlo and Tabitha Petran

STORM warnings of a new depression are up (GUARDIAN, April 16)—and financial journals are worried. The craziness of the formula of self-perpetuating "prosperity" through arms spending becomes daily more clear. In many sections of the country, and in consumer industry and in trade, the reality of a letdown is already here. In capital goods industries the only question is not whether, but when, the break will come. Production of arms is nearing its limits: (1) in the storage capacity of arsenals; (2) in the "allies'" capacity to buy arms without bankruptcy.

Most important, the people of all countries—and to a growing extent in the U. S. — are vetoing a permanent arms program by resistance to crushing taxes, by refusing to die in senseless wars.

To the **Journal of Commerce** and **Business Week** there is a threat to profits. To the worker, the threat of joblessness and hunger; to the farmer and small businessman, the threat to his independent existence. What can be done? The millions of Americans who are threatened will look for answers in the programs of the political parties on election day.

FOR THE 99%: The Progressive Party has an answer squarely opposed to the program of both the Republican and Democratic parties in any of its variations.



THIS IS WHAT AMERICA COULD HAVE—TEN-FOLD
Hoover (Boulder) Dam, the giant electric power plant in Nevada

• First, the PP program is designed to meet the threat to 99% of the American people — the Republican-Democrat to protect the 1% who reap fabulous profits from their control of those parties.

• Second, the PP program is based on peace: stop waving the bomb and rearming the world and "police actions," sit down and settle differences. The Republican-Democratic program means unending armaments, an aggressive foreign policy, building up reactionary regimes, precipitating war.

• Third, the PP program means **less** government spending. The people demand a reduction in the huge budget and tax burden—and we know government spending can't do everything. The Republican-Democrats spend and spend, tax and tax—but for wasteful arms that produce nothing but profits.

• Finally, the PP program offers no utopia of slipping into perpetual prosperity. The Republican-Democrats, while noisily assuring tax victims that they have licked depressions with arms spending, are heading straight for a depression. The PP program offers a chance to avoid the worst of depressions; will help strengthen the people to improve their conditions of life; prepares them to move toward the more basic reorganization they will find necessary. It is a first step along the road to stability and rising standards of living. But any such program will, of course, be violently attacked as "socialistic" by the 1% who control the Republican and Democratic parties—as they attack any spending not for themselves.

Here is the six-point PP economic program (the sixth point, dealing with the farmers, is covered on p. 9 by Elmer Benson): a "first run" program which will be amended to reflect the views presented to the Platform Committee at the July convention.

I. Foreign Trade

FOREIGN trade, geared to the war program, is facing its worst crisis. The war program has ruined the finances of Atlantic Pact "allies"; all are slashing U. S. purchases. Washington policy has accelerated German and Japanese competition in world markets while forcing "allies" into war production, thus cutting sales by British, West European and even U. S. businessmen.

Finally, the war program has embargoed our trade with one-third of the world—the planned victims of World War III, the U. S. S. R., China, the peoples' democracies of East Europe. The solution can be summed up in a phrase:

• **Remove the barriers to trade with one-third of the world.**

NEW MARKETS: The Moscow Economic Conference showed that the countries of planned socialist construction offer the best international markets in the world today. The industries of Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria are doubled, tripled, and quadrupled. China —more than a fifth of the world's people—is being converted from a back-

(Continued on following page)

A MAN OF PEACE "LOOKS BACKWARD"

Come on out — the dream is ours!

By W. E. B. DuBois

IT was the morning of—well, the exact date does not matter; you will surely remember it. The referenda were so overwhelming and conclusive that World Peace was certain and even our State Dept. could not discover a Communist "trick." Both the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. were disarming, destroying their stockpiles of atom bombs. Germ-warfare laboratories disappeared in Japan. Other nations were either following or leading.

Here in our nation, numbers of folk went to figuring on future taxes and expenditures. It was not easy and I venture to publish my own results with trepidation. Working with national budgets these days is no cinch. What with mixing billions and millions; distinguishing between appropriations and expenditures, and extracting contradictory items from utterly illogical totals, one is a bit shaky on results.

STILL, here are my conclusions subject to a lot of corrections: the First Session of the 82nd Congress, which sat from January to October, 1951, appropriated (all my figures are "round," very much so!) $91,600,000,000 for this nation's expenses for the fiscal year. Of this, $77 billion or 85% was for war.

Our national debt amounted to $255 billion at the time, on which we were paying $5,600,000 a year interest. Our appropriations for war included $19 billion each for the Army and Airforce; $15 billion for the Navy; $12 billion for the Mutual Security Agency and military bases; $4 billion for veterans, and $1.6 billion for atom bombs.

For what one might designate as "social progress" the Congress appropriated, so far as I can learn:

For social security	$1,200 million
For river and flood control	900 million
For agriculture	802 million
For public housing (not including military housing)	683 million
For roads	485 million
For public health	346 million
For labor department	222 million
For education	140 million

There may be some duplications, omissions and misplacements here; also some purely military expense may be inadvertently included. But it seems fair to say that this session of Congress appropriated less than $5 billion dollars for social progress of a total of $91 billion.

NATURALLY, the coming of peace could not relieve us immediately of all the costs of war-making. Pensions and care for veterans require $5 billion, perhaps more. And of course there is always the interest on our debt. But if we mean peace as we say emphatically we do, and if the rest of the world keeps faith, we can hopefully envisage cutting back

Drawing by Walter Iler

"Ach! Von Putz, when I look back, Stalingrad already seems like a bad dream."

our military establishment to peacetime 1927 levels, when we spent less than one billion instead of the $77 billion of 25 years later.

With these things decided, our first move is to take the huge 1952 tax load off the wage-earner and consumer and turn to taxing "tax free" income and stopping the "capital loss" racket. Out of this income, we can pay off the debts left us by the war-makers and still have a comfortable $25 billion or more to run the government and make it aid the people.

Realizing our primary needs for education, and our reeling public school system, we will match each dollar of the $5 billion which the states now spend with a dollar from the Federal Treasury, provided it is without racial discrimination and distributed to one system of public schools. That will take $5 billions. Next we shall build $3 billions instead of $683 millions of Federal Housing, which will be real slum clearance without race discrimination or real-estate graft. Agriculture will be raised from $800 million to $2 billion; flood control as a starter from less than a billion to two billion, with provisos keeping it from power-monopoly and army engineers. Social medicine should get one billion, in defiance of the American Medical Association and entrenched life insurance, leaving us still a chance to double the appropriation for roads to one billion.

IN our zeal for our own nation, don't forget what happened abroad, once the wealth and insanity of the U. S. stopped driving the world to war. Britain, with a whoop that echoed from Canada to New Zealand, threw off her chains and Churchill. Bevan took power, stopped the charge for teeth and nationalized textiles as well as steel. Trade with the Soviets zoomed. The French Union, federating her colonies and freeing them from the rule of French industry, met and organized and seized increased power. East and West Germany joined in a new **Deutschthum** free at last of Nazism and Jew-baiting, ready to talk with the Soviets and Poland and compete with British industry on equal terms.

The Benelux lands including black Congo and all Indonesia began to see with Scandinavia a Middle Way to socialism, while Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans raised the Iron Curtain. Greece sulks, and Tito is still talking. Italy is distributing land to the peasants, beginning to make the rich pay taxes and planning to induce the Church to get out of politics. She is handing her trusteeship to the UN.

IS this a pipe-dream? It need not be. It is just plain common-sense for an America not driven to hysteria by a monopolized press and a gang of red-baiters depending on testimony of liars while hijackers keep honest artisans idle. Brass hats have had the people by the throats. They sat and squalled politics from university presidencies while we cowered in cellars and whined.

Come on out! "Peace, no more war" is our slogan, and the dream is ours!

"Peace is Dangerous"

A new printing of the GUARDIAN pamphlet **Peace is Dangerous**, by the progressives' beloved elder statesman Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, is now ready. This is the famous pamphlet in which Dr. DuBois—charges against whom as a "foreign agent" because he spread peace information collapsed last year—brilliantly analyzes why we don't have peace and what we must do to get it. His exposition should be in the hands of every American who has become sick of war.

Write today (Guardian Pamphlets, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7) for copies to read and distribute. Price 10c, 12 for $1; quantity rates on request.

(Continued from preceding page)

ward to a modern agrarian-industrial country in half a man's lifetime. The U.S.S.R., second most powerful industrial country, steadily continues to expand at the rate of 15-20% per year—a rate of growth never before known in an already-developed country.

Drawing by Fred Wright

"For years we've been telling these union reds to go to Moscow . . . now they're telling us!"

These industrialized countries are the best markets for raw materials, for machines, for locomotives, metals, consumer goods, on an unprecedented scale. U.S. businessmen can make profits, millions of U.S. workers can be assured of jobs, supplying these markets. Moreover the pressure of competition on all world markets can be eased, when the Washington-imposed barriers which partly cut off other countries and force them to compete with U.S. business in restricted markets are lifted.

CONSIDER THE DOUGHNUT: It is because they are growing and have planned economies that the Soviet Union, China, etc., are solvent, have gold reserves, always meet their bills. They are customers of a different type than the sick capitalist economies of Western Europe or the impoverished colonial and semi-colonial countries. The U.S. today is supporting the Malan regime of South Africa, and spending money in Brazil, to try to replace the manganese of the U.S.S.R., which can be had with no trouble at all in exchange for our goods. Thousands of American boys died last spring to capture a small tungsten mine in Korea, to replace a fraction of the Chinese tungsten cut off by that war, which can be made available at a word from Washington.

When you eat a doughnut it is probably made with Chinese dried eggs. If you use a paintbrush it is probably made with Chinese bristles and the paint with Chinese oils. If you wear a fur-trimmed coat, it is likely to be made with Russian furs. The full range of products that can flow here from the blocked third of the world, to enrich our living, will only be revealed by experience as that trade develops.

II. Wages and Labor Conditions

CONSUMER-GOODS markets remain depressed despite a continued high level of employment. Wage freeze and higher taxes siphon off at least 25% of wages to pay for the war program (direct taxes take 12c of every wage dollar—for many workers, 20c—and indirect another 12-20c.) "Price controls" are nothing but built-in price increases. The solution?

- **Take the lid off U.S. living standards.**

Repeal the wage freeze, the Taft-Hartley Act, all taxes on low incomes and items of mass consumption. Let the trade unions bargain freely to force really large concessions from corporate employers — wage raises which could easily amount to 30-40% in terms of the factors normally entering into collective bargaining, such as profits, living costs, productivity of labor. Cut taxes on the 99% of the people, while leaving taxes on corporate profits and high incomes to finance needed expenditures. Immediate corrective legislation to strengthen rent controls and enforce real price control is needed.

A $1.50 per hour minimum wage is needed today to provide the protection promised by the pre-Korea Fair Labor Standards Act. Existing exemptions—mainly for those occupations in which Negroes, Mexicans and other exploited groups are segregated, such as agricultural labor and private household work—must be wiped out. Mechanization and speedup have made the 40-hour week too long. The maximum for straight time wages should be cut to 35 hours per week.

III. Fair Employment Practices

SOME 15 million Negroes, five million Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Chinese, do the hardest work in the country for less than half the normal earnings. This is the economic reality behind segregation and legal lynchings. It means billions of extra profits for corporations, a growing downward pull on earnings of all working people, particularly as industry shifts to low-wage areas. This policy denies 20 million people any possibility of enjoying the much-advertised American standard of living, and reduces the standard for millions more.

All this must be changed, completely and radically, not only because the conscience of every decent person demands it but because it would:

- **Add at least 20 million new customers to the domestic market.**

We need an FEPC to cover every industry and trade—which would not only prevent overt wage discrimination but insure the ending of job segregation; guarantee broad access of Negroes, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, etc., to the highest wage jobs, to all industries and occupations, to all training programs, apprenticeship systems; and end residential segregation which permits charging of higher rents and prices to these minorities.

IV. Social Security

THE U.S. has one of the least advanced social security systems among economically developed countries. Old age and survivors' insurance payments amounted in 1950 to less than 1% of covered payrolls, although deductions amount to 3% of payrolls. Total unemployment insurance payments amounted to less than $10 a week of complete unemployment.

There is no health insurance, no system of regular supplements to wages for large families, no maternity insurance. Workers are paying billions per year in social security taxes, most of which is going covertly to finance the war program. The world's richest country can and must afford a genuine

- **Cradle-to-grave social security program.**

The West Coast Union Research and Information Service has estimated at around 30 billion dollars the benefit cost of an all-around program providing pensions of $150 a month for all above 65; unemployment insurance of $50 a week; $3 a week for each child under 16; public medical insurance; disability insurance of $50 per week; maternity care of $50 a week for 12 weeks. This cost amounts to about one-third of President Truman's proposed budget, less than half of the military portion of his budget.

Resources

THE annual loss of 20 billion feet of sawed timber, of half a million acres of cropland, the ruthless wasting of mineral resources—all have been accelerated in recent years. The floods of 1950 and 1951 are a mild foretaste of tragedies in store unless our conservation and natural resources development program is radically changed. The deterioration of our cities is less dramatic but no less real. Labor and materials now going into construction of barracks, air bases, war factories can be used to

- **Rebuild our Forests, Fields, Cities, Schools and Homes.**

The Progressive Party proposes to implement FDR's imaginative programs, which for the most part remained on paper — the seven great river valley projects, systematic planting of shelter belts to avert floods and droughts; and to go far beyond them in building low-cost housing, schools and hospitals. Some of these items require large federal expenditures, but many can be built by local authorities with relatively minor federal financial aid—and they yield wealth, as the TVA has demonstrated.

DOES all this have a familiar ring? The majority of Americans have voted for large parts of this program in every one of the last five Presidential elections. It's the New Deal program demanded repeatedly by the people, never implemented by the two old parties.

To put over this program means a real fight—but worth it.

Berliner Illustrierte

The statement of the candidates

ARE MILLIONS of American lives to be lost in a terrible atomic war? Or shall Americans and their children look forward to peace, freedom and security?

This is the crucial issue of the 1952 elections. This is the main question that the American people must answer at the polls.

As candidates for the highest offices in our country, we believe that peace, freedom and security for all Americans are not only desirable, but essential. We stand together in this belief: a man and a woman, a white and a Negro, an attorney and a newspaper publisher—firm in the conviction that ours is the only practical program now being offered the American people.

The program offered by the Republicans and the Democrats is a program for the tax-evaders, the five-percenters, the armament makers and the profiteers. For the man who works for a living, the woman who budgets for a home and family, for the small businessman and the family farmer, for youth, for the great bulk of Americans, these big party programs point only to disaster. They spell war and unemployment, segregation and discrimination, profits for the few and hardships for the many. They have only war to offer; war tomorrow or the day after tomorrow—and high taxes, high prices and lowered living standards.

That is why, under a Democratic President and a Republican Congress, united in "bipartisan politics," we have seen such an intensified drive against our civil liberties, such a stepping up of Jim Crow and lynching against the Negro people, such increased corruption that the very air of Washington is foul with the smell of it.

But the American people, like the ordinary people of every land, want peace. They want a program that affords an end of death and a perspective for lasting peace. In this campaign only we offer such a program:

- **End the senseless war in Korea now.**
- **Call a Five-Power Conference to settle outstanding differences among nations and stop the arms race.**
- **Lower the incredible tax burden.**
- **Break the wage-freeze.**
- **Convert the vast resources of America from a war to a peace economy.**
- **Open the channels of world trade to provide three million jobs.**
- **Federal guarantees of full citizenship and equality for the Negro people.**
- **Restore the Bill of Rights for all Americans, including racial and political minorities.**

We appeal to all Americans who want **a free, prosperous** America in a world **of peace** to join with us.

VINCENT HALLINAN
CHARLOTTA BASS

Peace must be on the ballot in '52!

Join the Progressive Party dollar drive

The Progressive Party needs YOUR HELP in this great, nation-wide task. Vital petition campaigns in Illinois, Massachusetts and throughout the South must proceed NOW, if the voters of America are to have the opportunity to cast their votes for peace and plenty, instead of war and privation. The first round of financing for this stage of the Progressive campaign of 1952 depends on the success of our Dollar Drive in the month of May.

Here's how YOU can help:

- **Send your own Dollar Drive contribution now.**
- **Take a coupon book to enlist ten others this month at $1 each.**

Progressive Party
150 West 46th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Here's my Dollar Drive starter. Send me a coupon book to enlist ten other Dollar Drive contributors; I'll do my best to fill it this month among my neighbors and associates.

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THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE—DECENT AMERICA TAKES UP THE FIGHT

What the Progressive Party is doing across the U.S.

By John T. McManus

Throughout America, progressive citizens mobilized to present voters with peaceful alternatives in the 1952 elections. Here are reports from many states and communities. The GUARDIAN will provide special coverage of this sort throughout the campaign. We ask all progressive organizations to send us news of activities.

California

In the home state of Vincent Hallinan, jailed April 1 for contempt of court for his militant defense of labor leader Harry Bridges against government frame-up, a Hollywood crew put finishing touches on a movie of the Hallinan family, produced at the noted attorney's home at Ross on the eve of his departure for jail. The film will be used for campaigning during Hallinan's six-month sentence.

In **SANTA ROSA**, retired contractor **Carl Sullivan** filed for Congress on the Independent Progressive ticket (IPP) and will also contest for the Democratic nomination in the First C.D. Strong for peace, freedoms for all and "constructive spending," Sullivan—one of the few U.S. businessmen attending the Moscow Economic Conference—said in his opening campaign statement:

> "It is my belief that in the secrecy of the voting booth the people will register their deep desire for a return to the paths of genuine peace and freedom."

In **OAKLAND**, union carpenter **John Allen Johnson**, IPP candidate in the 7th C.D., has also cross-filed on the Democratic primary ballot. Graduate of U. of Calif., union official and editor, Johnson calls for major-power peace negotiations, extension of civil rights through equal employment and housing opportunities.

SAN DIEGO has its first Negro candidate for state office in Elder **Horace J. Terry**, IPP candidate for Assembly from the 79th District. At a dinner launching his candidacy, Elder Terry, an AFL electrician, said:

> "There's nothing progressive in the two old parties. . . . Only the Progressive Party is the voice of the people, and that voice is becoming louder and louder and louder."

Chief guest speaker at the Elder Terry rally was **Reuben Borough**, state IPP chairman, candidate for the U.S. Senate against incumbent Republican William F. Knowland ("The Senator from Formosa") and Democratic publisher C. D. McKinnon of San Diego.

In California's new Third C.D., centering around **SACRAMENTO**, the IPP Congressional candidate is **Helen C. Thomsen**, IPP candidate for State Senate in 1948. Mrs. Thomsen is interested in hearing from people in Yolo, Sutter, Yuba, Colusa and Glenn counties at her home, 6713 Fair Oaks Blvd., Carmichael.

In **LOS ANGELES** County, Progressives have filed for Congress in three of the 12 C.D.'s. They are **Lloyd C. Seeliger** of Warehousemen's Local 26, in the 17th; **Bertram L. Sharp** in the 24th; and **Horace V. Alexander**, young Negro war veteran, in the 25th.

Pension leader **George McClain**, filing as Democratic candidate in the new 23rd, cross-filed IPP as well as Republican and Prohibition. Others cross-filing IPP were **William A. Geer**, Republican, in the 16th; **Wilbur F. Gilbert**, Democrat, in the 19th; and **Doris W. Copley**, Republican, in the 2nd.

In L.A.'s Eastside, two Mexican-American candidates for Assembly have received endorsements by the non-partisan Eastside Citizens' Committee. They are **Anthony P. Ponce** in the 40th A.D. and **Gilbert M. Canales** in the 51st. Both are lifelong residents of the Eastside community, which contains large minorities including Mexican-American, Jewish, Negro and Japanese.

Connecticut

The campaign starts with a mass meeting May 11 at the Hotel Barnum, Bridgeport, addressed by Vito Marcantonio, and a state convention early in June.

Illinois

Statewide, progressives mobilized for their second attempt to get a Progressive Presidential ticket on the ballot. In the primaries labor and progressive candidates challenged machine Democrats with surprising results in several districts. In five State Senatorial districts, opposition candidates polled nearly 50,000 votes. In the Danville area Charles Harden, Mine-Mill unionist, missed the nomination by only 104 votes. Barred illegally from the vote canvass, he is seeking a recount on suspicion that votes were stolen from him. Lillian Klein, Chicago housewife, got 25,000 votes in the 25th District, carrying the 40th Ward by 1,000 votes.

In Chicago's 1st Congressional, Negro radio commentator Oscar Brown Jr. got nearly 4,000 votes. Four members of the Farm Equipment Divn. of the United Electrical Workers ran good

REUBEN BOROUGH
For Senator in California

races for State Representative. James Mitchell (FE Local 107) got 11,235 votes.

In another Illinois primary fight, Democratic voters rejected Cook County State Atty. John S. Boyle in favor of Municipal Court Judge John Gutnecht, red-baited by Boyle for his one-time chairmanship of the National Lawyers Guild. Boyle was accused of whitewashing policeman Michael Moretti, an investigator on his staff who shot two West Side youths and was eventually sentenced to life imprisonment by two special prosecutors. Boyle was the prosecutor who got indictments against victims rather than instigators of the Cicero anti-Negro housing riots.

In another anti-corruption revolt, Republican voters nominated a dead man for Ward Committeeman—slain ward leader Charles Gross—over the West Side bloc's James H. Mesi.

Kentucky

Two weeks after the PP of Kentucky endorsed the Hallinan-Bass ticket, the husband of an active Louisville PP worker was fired from his job at Jeffersonville Quartermaster Depot, where he had been an Army civilian worker for 11 years. He was Frank Grzelak, 60, whose wife Josephine, 51, has been an ardent peace advocate. Their two sons served with distinction in World War II. The PP called the dismissal "the pattern of Nazi Germany," launched a defense committee to fight for Grzelak's reinstatement. The firing "deeply disturbed" the **Courier-Journal.**

Michigan

In a spirited petition campaign with a filing deadline of May 6, Michigan Progressives, holding the balance of power in the state, seemed headed for success in gaining access to the ballot.

In **ST. JOSEPH** peace enthusiast **Axel Nielsen,** father of an Air Force POW in N. Korea, is seeking the Republican nomination for Congress. He is chairman of the 4th Dist. Peace Committee.

Montana

At a state convention late in March, more than 100 Montana Progressive leaders endorsed the Hallinan-Bass ticket, adopted a comprehensive '52 platform for presentation at the July 4 week-end national convention; and voted to run candidates for U.S. Senate and three Congressional seats. State chairman John Hellman, former Cong. Jerry O'Connell and L. L. Price were elected to a nominations committee.

New Jersey

Following a highly successful February mass meeting attended by more than 500 people in Newark, N.J., Progressives held an equally successful all-day "briefing session" at the Hotel Hildebrecht in Trenton last month with Mrs. Vincent Hallinan as main speaker.

In Essex County, clubs in three wards will campaign to win appointment of a Negro magistrate in Newark.

Atlantic County (covering Atlantic City) elected Kenneth Warburton, 111 N. 2nd St., Pleasantville, chairman and scheduled a May membership meeting.

New Mexico

Former Colorado PP leader Craig Vincent has filed for the Democratic nomination for one of the two State Representative seats from Taos County, covering the famous art colony and the vicinity of San Cristobal Valley ranch, operated by Vincent and his folksinger wife, Jenny Wells.

Mr. and Mrs. Vincent recently furnished a $27,600 bond covering the appeal of strikers arrested in the 15-month Empire Zinc strike against fines totaling $13,800. The appeal bond enables the case to be carried to the state Supreme Court.

New York

The American Labor Party, which rolled up more than 500,000 votes for the national Progressive ticket in 1948 and nearly half that number in the off-year gubernatorial contest of 1950, has a top-priority goal this year: sending Vito Marcantonio back to Congress from his nationally famous 18th Congressional District in East Harlem. Opening date for circulation of nominating petitions for all offices: June 10.

In city and state legislative affairs, the ALP has taken the lead this year in fights to bring a fair share of state tax moneys to N.Y. City and for re-assessments of big real estate to add $150,000,000 yearly to the city's income. Central organization in the fight earlier this year to ban anti-Negro discrimination in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.'s Stuyvesant Town housing project, the ALP is now waging a similar campaign to win anti-discrimination rulings against public-assisted Knickerbocker Village, from which Gov. Dewey's Housing Commissioner Herman Stichman has just authorized eviction of artist Edward Strickland, only Negro tenant admitted in 18 years of the project's existence.

Working closely with Rep.-ALP Sen. William Bianchi during the state legislative session at Albany which ended in March, the ALP sparked the fights for improved unemployment insurance laws and against transit fare increases, new sales and nuisance taxes for N.Y.C. residents. In N.Y. City, an ALP campaign has already knocked out a proposed $60-a-year fee for overnight parking on the streets and has won allies from all quarters for a special legislative session on the city's financial headaches.

AXEL NIELSEN
For Congressman in Michigan

As the Bronx ALP won frontpage headlines with a campaign to force the N.Y. Yankees baseball club to sign Negro players, a broad committee composed of ALP leaders and others initiated a boroughwide campaign for designation of Negro candidates by both old parties for the State Senatorship in the 21st District covering Harlem. No Negro has ever been elected to the N.Y. State Senate. In Kings County (Brooklyn) a similar campaign seeks reapportionment to establish a senatorial district covering the heavily Negro Bedford-Stuyvesant section, now divided among five senatorial districts.

The national campaign will get its New York "kickoff" at a Madison Sq. Garden rally Tuesday evening, May 13, following a turnout last month of 1,300 Brooklynites at an ALP testimonial dinner to Vice-Presidential candidate Mrs. Charlotta Bass and Mrs. Vivian Hallinan.

Pennsylvania

Successful in the first tough ballot fight of the '52 campaign, the PP State Committee on April 7 in Harrisburg endorsed the Hallinan-Bass ticket and set up a statewide program leading up to the July national convention.

In **PHILADELPHIA,** Negro trade unionist **David P. Widamen** is already campaigning on an Independent-Progressive ticket for Congress against two white opponents in the heavily Negro 4th C.D. A Non-Partisan Citizens' Committee is carrying on his campaign in conjunction with PP ward clubs.

On an unexpected front, the Philadelphia PP won a significant appeal from a Pennsylvania film censors' ban on the movie **Peace Will Win** as tending to "corrupt and debase morals." Faced with an array of interested parties including two attorneys from the American Civil Liberties Union, an administrative law expert from the U. of Pa. and a Quaker lawyer acting as PP legal counsel, the censor board went into hasty executive session, emerged with full approval of the film. The Philadelphia group now plans public commercial showings.

Vermont

Secy. Helen H. McMartin announces a statewide PP meeting for Sunday, May 52 at 1 p.m., at the Coolidge Hotel, White River Junction (it was announced earlier for May 4.) All GUARDIAN readers and PP friends are invited.

Vermont requires 1,000 qualified voters' signatures by Sept. 15 to assure a ballot position. Signatures must be made in presence of a notary, but any Vermonter 21 or over can become a notary for a $2 fee paid to a county clerk. Secy. MacMartin asks Vermont readers of this announcement to write her at 55 Harrington Terrace, Burlington, for final details on the ballot campaign.

EXPLODING A MYTH ABOUT THE RURAL VOTER

A real program to meet the needs of the small American farmer

By Elmer A. Benson
Natl. chairman, Progressive Party

THAT farmers consistently vote Republican and are the bulwark of conservatism is a popular U.S. fallacy. The truth is that off this nation's farms, out of its rural life, have come some of our most radical reform movements. Today most U.S. farmers are in trouble, with more coming. (The GUARDIAN has done a unique service in reporting major farm developments since its very first issues, has cited most of the ills besetting farmers from a government spending for war instead of for peace).

The basic economic problems confronting U.S. agriculture are how best to keep the small family farm in existence, and how best to replace sharecropping and tenant farming by a sound system of land ownership for poor farmers, tenants and sharecroppers with safeguards for maximum production to meet world needs for food and fiber.

COBRA MONOPOLY: As against these two goals, U.S. reaction would drive 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 small farmers from the land and intensify the concentration of ownership and control which exists in other areas of American life. This "displacement" theory, propounded some years ago by Henry Luce (**Time, Life, Fortune**), is now being espoused by the supposedly liberal Natl. Planning Assn.

Dominant controls in the farm field have always been exercised by those closely allied with the big meat packers, canners, grain and milling speculative interests. Under Franklin D. Roosevelt a number of advances were made to protect the small farmer, the sharecropper and the farm laborer. But even under Roosevelt these gains were limited by the growing dominance of the big corporate farmers and the farm middlemen, both in Congress and in the Administration.

Los Angeles Daily News

9 POINTS TO PROGRESS: A real program for the farmer would include:

- Parity at full 100% for all crops, based upon an up-to-date formula which would include all farm costs.
- Improvement of the present crop-loan program by basing loans on parity.
- A simple, complete coverage of crop insurance instead of insurance for a few specific crops. Today the average farmer's land looks like a complicated legal contract because of shifting governmental decrees, particularized crop-insurance loans and other devices.
- Adequate payments for soil-conservation practices, including payments for commercial fertilizer. (One of the most effective means of building up our farm land instead of destroying it, of increasing crops, and of preserving the American farm, would be free government supplying of fertilizer to small farmers, sharecroppers, tenant farmers.)
- Storage provided on the farms, with payment of 1c per bushel per month, the same now paid to commercial grain elevators.
- Most important: coordinated development of our river valleys. Living all my life in the Great Plains area, I have seen flood after flood of the upper Mississippi, Missouri, Red and other rivers and lived through the period of droughts. The nonsensical, 40-years-long bureaucratic fight between the Army's Chief of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Dept. of Agriculture and State governments simply proves the only attack that can be made is a coordinated river-valley development for flood control, reclamation, conservation, production of power and development of industry. President Truman's approach to flood control is piddling—and not substantially different from that of Republicans and Democrats for 40 years. Experience teaches them nothing.
- Instead of wasting money on armaments, the government should spend to raise the living standard in rural areas by support of rural schools, hospitals, roads, extension of REA to include rural telephone service, clinics and medical centers, and new farm housing.
- Immediate efforts to end the feudal system of sharecropping and tenant farming which holds millions, particularly Negroes and poor whites, in virtual bondage in the South. This means vast extension of the program first advanced under Roosevelt in the Resettlement Administration and the Farm Security Administration. A similar program is needed to provide decent minimum wages, housing and living conditions for farm laborers.
- Uncompromising opposition not only to UMT, but to the draft which is robbing the small farmer of his sons and imperilling the small farm.

ELMER A. BENSON
For sound land ownership

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In Memoriam
ANTHONY PAUL ALEXANDER
October, 1951 — April, 1952

. . . and the time shall come when every child born on this earth shall be able to grow up in a world free from discrimination, and live in a world at peace.

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Vito Marcantonio
Shirley Graham DuBois
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HOTEL BARNUM, Bridgeport
Ausp. People's Party of Conn.

SPARTACUS

When I first published SPARTACUS I went, as was both natural and inevitable, to readers of the "National Guardian." I did so firstly because I know so many of them and know what brave and good people they are, and secondly, because of my own great respect for the "Guardian." The response which I received to these advertisements for SPARTACUS has been overwhelming, heart-warming and, in many cases, history-making. It would not be saying too much to state that "Guardian" readers made the publication of this book possible. I want to thank them.

I am printing the letter below both because I want more "Guardian" readers to buy SPARTACUS, and because I feel that this letter, better than any personal report, indicates the response to this book. I have said before that to receive such letters as this must makes any writer humble and proud; yet I think that such a letter is written to more persons than myself, and has a wider meaning than praise for me or for a book. This book and all that is good in it came out of struggles in which I was never alone. The letter is as much to the people who were a part of these struggles as it is to me.

HOWARD FAST
P. O. Box 171, Planetarium Sta., N. Y. 24

January 20, 1952

Dear Mr. Fast:

I have a deep desire to tell you that "Spartacus" is the most beautiful book I have read in a long time. I have chosen the word beautiful as a descriptive adjective because it has bearing on so many aspects of your novel:

The simple beauty of its language—

The beauty of its construction which, intricate as it is, appears as natural and necessary as life itself—

And the beauty of the human soul and mind of which it is full in every instant. Perhaps this is the most outstanding quality of your book: that it never lets the reader down; that even while objectively and with heartbreaking accuracy describing the depth of human cruelty and desparity, it offers always the counter-balance of faith in all that is good, of kindness, gentleness, and of the purity which you so unforgettably define as the quality of one who never in all his life made peace with what was wrong.

Never in my life have I read a revolutionary book that was so peaceful, so constructive, so absolutely filled with the belief not only in all that is fine and good and loving in human nature, but with the greater belief that all this can be recognized and can triumph over the evil forces. It may be that one of the saddest and yet most promising moments in this story is to be found in Part VII, on page 304, when Gracchus explains to Cicero the meaning and functioning of a republic, the ways and means by which the few who are rich live by the grace of the many who are poor; and Cicero answers: "I think that if what you said were to be said by an ordinary man aloud in the Forum, we would crucify him." And Gracchus laughs: ". . . It is necessary to lie to others. Is it necessary that we should believe our lies?"—I for one believe and will go on believing that the time will come when leaders of the people will find it so impossible to believe their lies that they will have to tell the truth not only to themselves but to all men. And it will be with the help of books like "Spartacus" and of people like Spartacus that they will learn to see the truth and want the truth. Gracchus' death in your story is the most beautiful symbol of this process; once he has seen truth and goodness and purity with his inner eyes, his old sinful self cannot go on living. He has to do away with it himself—but in the hour of contentment, gratitude and hope.

There are many things which I would like to say to you about your book. The tremendous symbolism of David's death on the cross and the old woman who shares his last hour. . . . The indescribable fineness of permitting your reader to live the beautiful and subtle relationships between men and women as those of Varinia and Spartacus, Varinia and Gracchus, Gracchus and Julia—practically without the use of words. . . . The beauty of your descriptions of nature, and the power of your descriptions of suffering—the rhythm of the few stanzas of German song. . . .

So many things have touched my heart and I want to thank you for them. Please know this.

Helen D-----

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CALENDAR

Chicago

MAY DAY CELEBRATION. People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago Av., Sat., May 3, 8 p.m. Speakers: Carl Marzani, Coleman Young. Singing, entertainment. 60c admission.

MAY 4th MASS MEETING FOR PEACE—Finnish Workers' Hall, 2409 N. Halstead (corner Halstead, Fullerton & Lincoln), 4 p.m. Admission free. All invited. Film **PEACE WILL WIN.** Sponsored by Northside American Youth Peace Crusade.

FILM FORUM every Fri., 8:15 p.m., People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago Av., every Sun., 7 p.m., ASP Hall, 946A No. Clark St. Showing May 9-11, 16-18, return engagement of new Hungarian color movie: **THE GOOSE BOY.**

Detroit

CARL MARZANI in huge "Third Annual May Day Cultural Festival for Peace and Civil Rights." Sun., May 4, 2 p.m., Madison Ballroom, Woodward & Forest. $1, tax incl. CRC and Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Los Angeles

BIG HAWAIIAN LUAU — HARRY BRIDGES, guest speaker. Benefit Hawaii Smith Act Defendants. May 10, 581 Avalon. Call YOrk 9522 or TErm. 44234 (harbor) for info.

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Boston

MAY DAY RALLY with **CARL MARZANI,** also Peoples Artists' Laura Duncan and Al Moss. Fri., May 2, 8 p.m. Otisfield Hall.

New York

RALLY TO PLEDGE NO CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN U.S., to honor memory of victims of Fascism, demand a peace treaty for Germany. Special message from Paul Robeson. Speakers: William L. Patterson, Dr. J. Auslander. Entertainment: Hope Foye. Sun., May 4, 7 p.m. Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st St. Adm: $1, tax incl. Sponsored by: The German American, Inc., P.O. Box 214, Cooper Station, New York 3.

PIANO RECITAL at Steinway Concert Hall, 113 W. 57th St., by **RUTH FROMOWITZ,** Sat., May 3, 8:30 p.m. Contribution: $1.25. Auspices: American Labor Party, 2rd A.D. Bronx.

CLASSIFIED

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General

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New York

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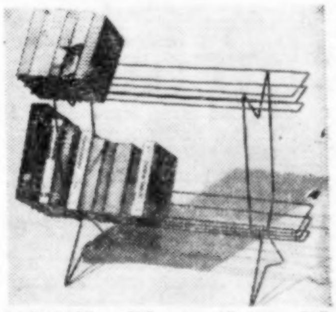

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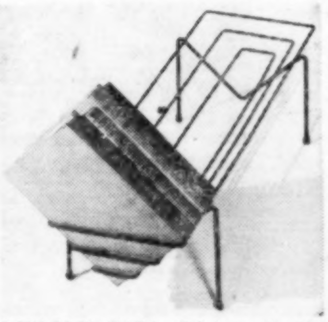

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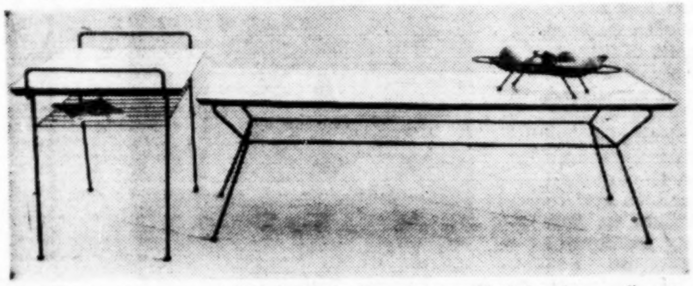

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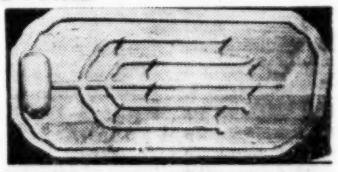

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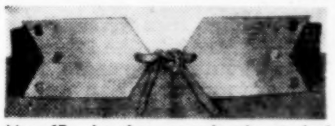

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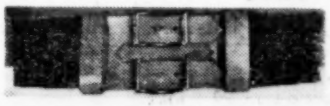

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A CRUSADER IN HER GREATEST CRUSADE

This is Charlotta Bass

By James Aronson

WHEN YOU get off the tired little elevator onto the quiet sixth floor corridor at 150 West 46th Street in Manhattan and open the door marked PROGRESSIVE PARTY, everything changes all at once. The place is a beehive. Conferences are taking place in corners of the less-than-ample quarters; typewriters are clacking and phones are ringing; speeches are being edited on a makeshift desk and a pile of leaflets is being sorted. In a backroom the movie and press people are talking out plans for a film on the party's candidates.

Sitting just inside the door of a small room is a gentle-faced woman listening to three people (all having something important to tell her) with the patience of the serene in heart. A fourth joins the group: the man from the GUAR-

CHARLOTTA BASS
"I'm not made of that stuff"

DIAN is here; could she break off for a few minutes? She can, even though she has to go off soon to the dentist and then get home to fix up a bit before a dinner party where a lot of people want to meet her.

INTERRUPTED INTERVIEW: Charlotta Bass came out with a gracious smile and hand and we got off in a corner of the office of C. B. (Beany) Baldwin, the party's secretary.

We talked about a lot of things, some times in half sentences as a staff worker came up and said: "Please, just one moment . . . now, Mrs. Bass, the train to California leaves . . ."; and a visitor from Philadelphia shook hands; and a secretary said: "That dinner is 6:30, you know. . . ."

The GUARDIAN man watched all this, then he finally said: "This is the beginning; how are you going to manage when the going really gets heavy?" Mrs. Bass smiled:

> **"I get all kinds of letters from all kinds of people who are worried about me [she's 62]. 'Don't do too much,' they say. 'Watch out for your heart.' It's the power of suggestion; if you take these things seriously, you might begin to fade. But not me. I'm not made of that stuff."**

DIVINE DINNER: She offered proof. Two Sundays ago she spoke to 500 people at dinner at a big Father Divine Heaven in New York. She didn't pull any punches, she said. She told them of Washington's way with the colonial peoples, of the attempts to intimidate America's Negroes into not fighting for their rights.

After dinner Mother Divine congratulated her. Father Divine asked her to join a caravan to Philadelphia; he'd like to talk to her there. She went, had another dinner at 2 a.m., and at 6 a.m. finally had her talk with Father Divine. It was a heart-to-heart talk, she said, and Divine was sympathetic. But, he said, he wished she were running on the Democratic ticket. She replied:

> **"But how can I? The Democratic ticket is split into so many parts. I wouldn't know which part to run on."**

As she repeated this, she spread her hands in a gesture of pure innocence.

You had the comforting feeling you were glad you were on her side. You got the impression of maturity and strength born of the fullness—and understanding—of a rich life of experience. You also imagined that she could be most unrelaxing if you were not on her side. As you heard more of her story the impression was borne out.

INK IN HER BLOOD: Charlotta Bass has been a newspaperwoman for more than 40 years. In 1912 she became publisher of the **California Eagle,** which she also edited with her husband, the late Joseph Blackburn Bass, a cofounder of the Topeka (Kans.) **Plaindealer.** She published the **Eagle** till 1951. Newspapering is where her heart is, she said: "Maybe one day I'll get ink in my lap again."

She was a Republican for more than 30 years, but a different kind of a Republican. She fought for Negro employment in the General Hospital in Los Angeles and for the integration of Negroes in the California Telephone Co. She fought and won the fight against segregation in the Los Angeles schools and swimming pools, fought restrictive covenants and took up the cudgels for the Mexican-Americans who were being brutalized by the police. She was the first Negro to serve on the County Grand Jury in the state, was for 20 years a member of the executive board of the L. A. NAACP.

She engaged in a no-holds-barred battle with the California Shipbuilding Co. over employment of Negroes, and when the fight was over the company invited her to break the bottle of champagne against the nose of the James Weldon Johnson liberty ship.

TWO WORLDS: In 1928 she bolted the G.O.P. to support Al Smith against Hoover, and in 1932 backed Franklin Roosevelt. In 1940 she became western regional director for Wendell Willkie. It was then she decided "no good could come from the elephant party." This is why:

> **"During that time I was sent to Chicago by the L. A. Chamber of Commerce to represent the Negro people at the Negro Art Exhibition. I discovered that while Wendell Willkie stood for one world, the Republican Party had upstairs headquarters for whites, and downstairs headquarters for Negroes. This convinced me that the Republican Party was a two-world proposition, one for whites and one for Negroes.**
>
> **"I was somewhat bewildered until 1948 when the news flashed across the country that a new party was to be born. Then I felt at last the millenium had come. I immediately became a member of the Progressive Party."**

Since she was designated Vice Presidential candidate, Mrs. Bass has been on the move. She has been speaking at rallies big and little, at dinners and on street corners. Were people getting to know her? Yes, they were, she said. She spoke at a big street corner rally in Harlem recently. A few days later on the street a stranger stopped her and this conversation followed:

> **"Say, what's your name?"**
> **"My name is Charlotta Bass."**
> **"Didn't I hear you make a talk on the street corner the other night?"**
> **"You certainly did."**
> **"Well, I just want you to know you're getting my vote."**

A prayer for peace

We deplore our share in spreading evil rumors, trumpeting our hates, whispering our suspicions, unashamedly parading our prejudices.

Driven into the most stupendous and suicidal armament race of all time, we are appalled to find ourselves staggering headlong toward a third world war.

Forgive us, we pray, for putting such pre-eminent trust in weapons of destruction. . . . Forgive us for wasting our material resources, and for failing to use them in the arts of creative peace.

Grant us time to right the wrongs which we have done. Shatter our smug self-righteousness. . . . May it be said of us that we are blessed because we are numbered among the peacemakers of the world. Amen.

—From a Prayer for Peace issued by ten Protestant leaders last week, with an appeal for U. S. leadership toward world "agreement through conference and concession," from Dr. Henry Hitt Crane's Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Mich.

SHE'LL SEE HIM: On April 29 Mrs. Bass left for California where she will campaign for two weeks before returning to New York for the Madison Sq. Garden rally May 13. Then she'll go back to the West Coast and campaign back across the country.

Was she going to see Vincent Hallinan, her running mate, in California? She said:

"I'm going to see him if the government will permit me in the prison. And if it doesn't, there's going to be trouble."

You just knew there would be, too—if it didn't.

"MY WILD IRISH ROGUES"

BOOKS

The inside story of the Hallinan household

By Ione Kramer

"WHAT this man needed was a wife and six children," Vivian decided soon after she met Vincent Hallinan. He had told her of his childhood as one of the eight offspring of a railroad worker who worked 14 hours a day, seven days a week; of the sting of being an "Irish kid"; of his fighting exploits in the boxing ring and on the football field; of how he had turned to law to fight injustice and corruption in San Francisco and of the many influential enemies he won in doing so. But he had stopped crusading and now tried to kid himself with cynical-sounding talk about how "everyone was down a blind alley."

Vivian felt he needed "personal and important reasons" so that he would enter into the future in the spirit of his youthful crusades. He got them in the form of Vivian and the six sons she had "always wanted"; Butch (now 18), Kayo, Tuffy, Dynamite, Flash, and Dangerous Dan (4). In **My Wild Irish Rogues** Vivian reveals the ex-confirmed bachelor, now candidate for President, as Father racing about the yard with his troop whooping after him, swinging a six-month-old Hallinan in wide circles to develop his muscles, holding the tribe of dish-washers spellbound with recitals of classical literature, getting a "perfectly legitimate" black eye from Kayo in a sparring bout.

WIDENING HORIZON: Vincent insisted on raising uninhibited sons; Vivian overcame her trepidation for them, entered actively into the knockabout as she raised her brood, and—eager to build security for them—found time for successful operation of six apartment houses on the side. If she gives too much space to details of her real estate deals, it's because she entered into them with the same gusto with which she attacked rats, plumbing and other problems of apartment management. But with her fresh, frank style, which builds to nice climaxes telling the entertaining and often dangerous activities robust kids get into, she keeps the reader coming for more.

VIVIAN HALLINAN
Life with seven strong men

Setbacks could not get her down—but she learned from them. When polio threatened in one week Butch's life and Tuffy's health, Vivian—who had never concerned herself with any children but her own—realized "there could so easily have been a different ending to the incident, and we would have been unhappy forever" if her sons had not had the best treatment and the armor of healthy bodies:

> **The fate of my children was completely bound with the fate of children all over the world. . . . It wasn't an apartment house fortune I should be building, but my children's future, my children's world. The only security for everybody was in equal opportunities. . . .**

THE ANSWER: When the boys recovered she astounded the Red Cross and then the Community Fund by the vigor with which she plunged into their work—and her own eyes were further opened. Constantly projecting her own children into the picture, she would find "the sweet, gentle face of some Negro boy had turned into Tuffy or Dynamite," and hear "the wheeze of his rheumatic-heart disease with new horror."

To Vivian and Vincent the Progressive Party offered the answer to the new problems they came to know; Vivian was delighted when asked to chair a large meeting three weeks before Dangerous Dan was born. The boys learned to understand, too: their conservative community did not invite Butch to an elite dance because of his parents' political activities. The next year, when both he and Kayo were invited, they declined because some poor children and a Chinese boy had been omitted.

MATURING AMERICANS: Not a "campaign biography" nor intended as such, Vivian's personal story includes little about Vincent's colorful life as a criminal lawyer and less than many would want to hear about his association with the Bridges case—which brought him out of semi-retirement in 1948 and has been the most important influence on his life. But as the biography of an American family, the head of which happens to be the Progressive Party's candidate for President, it will help dispel Salem-like fantasies about progressive leaders.

Why do such very human and universally recognizable Americans become militant progressives? The answer is here in the story of Vivian's maturing from the pretty girl who went to wild parties into the charming, gracious mother—serious yet with understanding humor—whom progressives will see campaigning for her husband in the next few months; and of Vincent from the brilliant lawyer who challenged corrupt officials because he liked to see them shake, into the father who knew what he was doing when he gathered his sons about him and explained:

> **". . . The prejudice against Bridges will be directed against us. . . . We shall be branded as 'Reds.' We shall be ostracized by some of the members of our own family. We shall receive threatening letters and phone calls. It is not unlikely that I shall go to jail."**

MY WILD IRISH ROGUES, by Vivian Hallinan. 255 pp. Doubleday, $3. (Liberty Book Club June selection; $1.89 to members.)